

# THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XXXV. Vol. II. No. 8.]

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21st, 1841.

[PRICE THREEPENCE.]

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## ADDRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society have requested Mr. Sturge to present to the President of the United States an address, of which the following is a copy:—

SIR,—As the head of a great confederacy of states, justly valuing their free constitution and political organization, and tenacious of their rights and their character, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through their esteemed coadjutor and representative, Joseph Sturge, would respectfully approach you in behalf of millions of their fellow-men, held in bondage in the United States. Those millions are not only denied the political immunities enjoyed by the citizens of your great republic generally, and the equal privileges and the impartial protection of the civil law, but are deprived of their personal rights: so that they cease to be regarded and treated, under your otherwise noble institutions, as MEN, except in the commission of crime, when the utmost rigour of your penal statutes is invoked and enforced against them; and are reduced to the degraded condition of “chattels personal” in “the hands of their owners and possessors, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.”

This is the language and the law of slavery; and upon this law, guarded with jealousy by their political institutions, the slaveholders of the south rest their claims to property in man. But, sir, there are claims anterior to all human laws, and superior to all political institutions, which are immutable in their nature—claims which are the birthright of every human being, of every clime and of every colour—claims which God has conferred, and which man cannot destroy without sacrilege, or infringe without sin. Personal liberty is among these the greatest and the best, for it is the root of all other rights, the conservative principle of human associations, the spring of public virtues, and essential to national strength and greatness.

The monstrous and wicked assumption of power by man over his fellow-man which slavery implies, is alike abhorrent to the moral sense of mankind, to the immutable principles of justice, to the righteous laws of God, and to the benevolent principles of the gospel. It is, therefore, indignantly repudiated by the fundamental laws of all truly enlightened and civilized communities; and by none more emphatically than by that over which, sir, it is your honour to preside.

The great doctrine that “God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, and that amongst these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” is affirmed in your Declaration of Independence, and justified in the theory of your constitutional laws. But there is a stain upon your glory. Slavery, in its most abject and revolting form, pollutes your soil; the wailings of slaves mingle with your songs of liberty, and the clank of their chains is heard in horrid discord with the chorus of your triumphs.

The records of your States are not less distinguished by their wise provisions for securing the order, and maintaining the institutions of your country, than by their ingenious devices for rivetting the chains, and perpetuating the degradation of your coloured brethren. Their education is branded as a crime against the state; their freedom is dreaded as a blasting pestilence; the bare suggestion of their emancipation is proscribed as treason to the cause of American independence.

These things are uttered in sorrow; for the committee deeply deplore the flagrant inconsistency so glaringly displayed, between the lofty principles embodied in the great charter of your liberties, and the evil practices which have been permitted to grow up under it, to mar its beauty and impair its strength.

But it is not on these grounds alone, or chiefly, that they deplore the existence of slavery in the United States. Manifest as are the

evils which flow from it, dehumanizing as are its tendencies, fearful as its re-action confessedly is on its supporters, the reproach of its existence does not terminate in the institutions which gave it birth. The sublime principles and benign spirit of christianity are dishonoured by it. In the light of divine truth it stands revealed in all its hideous deformity, a CRIME AGAINST GOD, a daring usurpation of the prerogative and authority of the Most High. It is as a violation of his righteous laws, an outrage on his glorious attributes, a renunciation of the claims of his blessed gospel, that they especially deplore the continuance and support it receives among you; and, in the spirit of christian love and fraternal solicitude, they would counsel its immediate and complete overthrow, as a solemn and imperative duty, the performance of which no sordid reasons should be permitted to retard, and no political considerations to prevent. Slavery is a sin against God, and ought, therefore, to be abolished.

The utter extinction of slavery, and its sister abomination, the internal slave-trade—second only in horror and extent in the United States to the African, and in some of its features even more revolting—can be argued by the philanthropists of this country only, on the abstract principles of moral and religious duty; and to those principles the people of your great republic are pledged on the side of freedom beyond every nation of the world.

The negro, by nature our equal, made like ourselves in the image of his Creator, gifted with the same intelligence, impelled by the same passions, and redeemed by the same Saviour, is reduced by cupidity and oppression below the level of the brute; spoiled of his humanity, plundered of his rights, and often hurried to a premature grave, the miserable victim of avarice and heedless tyranny! Men have presumptuously dared to wrest from their fellows the most precious of their rights—to intercept, as far as they may, the bounty and grace of the Almighty—to close the door to their intellectual progress—to shut every avenue to their moral and religious improvement—to stand between them and their Maker! It is against this crime the committee protest, as men and as christians; and they earnestly and respectfully call upon you, sir, to use the high powers with which you are invested to bring it to a peaceful and speedy close.

May you, in closing your public career, and in the latest hours of your existence on earth, be consoled with the reflection, that you have not despised the afflictions of the afflicted; but that, faithful to the trusts of your high stewardship, you have been “just, ruling in the fear of God”—that you have executed judgment for the oppressed, and have aided in the deliverance of your country from its greatest crime, and its chief reproach!

Signed on behalf of the committee.

London, March 8th, 1841.

THOMAS CLARKSON.

## RELEASE OF THE AMISTAD CAPTIVES.

FROM the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter* we extract the following details of this very interesting occurrence.

The heart-cheering news was communicated in a letter to a member of the committee acting on behalf of the captured Africans, from the honourable and venerable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, senior counsel for the prisoners, of which the following is an extract.

Washington, March 9, 1841.

“DEAR SIR,—The captives are free! The part of the decree of the District Court which placed them at the disposal of the president of the United States, to be sent to Africa, is reversed. They are to be discharged from the custody of the marshal—free.

“The rest of the decision of the courts below is affirmed.

“Not unto us—not unto us, &c.”

“J. Q. ADAMS.”

The committee soon met, and agreed upon the following notice, which they hope will be extensively copied for the information of those who feel so deep an interest in the temporal and spiritual welfare of these liberated Africans.

## TO THE FRIENDS OF THE AFRICAN CAPTIVES.

The committee have the high satisfaction of announcing, that the supreme court of the United States have definitely decided, that the long imprisoned captives who were taken in the Amistad ARE FREE, on this soil, without condition or restraint. The opinion of the court was pronounced on Tuesday, March 9, by judge Story. In view of this great deliverance, in which the lives and liberties of thirty-six fellow-men are secured, as well as many fundamental principles of law, justice, and human rights established, the committee respectfully request, that public thanks be given on the occasion to Almighty God, in all the churches throughout the land.

S. S. JOCELYN.

JOSHUA LEAVITT.

LEWIS TAPPAN.

New York, March 11, 1841.



The committee have taken measures to effect the liberation of the coloured cabin boy, Antonio, who was a slave to the captain of the *Amistad*, and who has been imprisoned with them as a witness, during the long eighteen months they have been incarcerated in jail at New Haven. They have also directed the suits against Ruiz and Montes for assault and battery, at the suits of Cinque, &c., to be prosecuted for their benefit. Measures will also be taken to insure, if possible, the punishment of Ruiz and Montes, for the atrocious crimes of which they have been guilty. It is the intention also of the committee to have a public meeting in this city, when all the Africans can be present, to render thanks to Almighty God for the interposition of His providence in protecting them, and delivering them from slavery and death, and to hear an appropriate address from Mr. Adams, if he accepts the invitation already forwarded to him. The disposal of these grateful and rejoicing Africans will be a subject of immediate and prayerful consideration. Their own wishes will be consulted, and the leadings of Divine Providence followed, so far as the action of the committee is concerned. The committee acknowledge, with heartfelt gratitude, the liberal donations that have been made to enable them, by the blessing of God, to vindicate the rights and achieve the freedom of these men and children, whose lives have been for so long a time in jeopardy, and who are now about to enjoy, what they have ever been entitled to, "certain inalienable rights, amongst which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." They also entreat the prayers and counsels of the friends of justice and liberty, both for the Africans and themselves, until all the objects enumerated are accomplished.

## RECEPTION OF THE NEWS BY THE CAPTIVES.

Extract of a letter from Amos Townsend, Jun., Esq., of New Haven.

New Haven, 11th March, 1841.

Bless the Lord, for his right hand hath gotten him the victory. The oppressor is confounded, and the oppressed delivered.

Our African friends received the tidings of their deliverance with great joy. Yet their joy was not that tumultuous outbreak of feeling which the first decision of the lower court produced. It was a more christian-like and dignified gladness, chastened and modified, no doubt, by the remembrance of their former disappointed hopes, after being assured of the decision of the circuit court.

To the inquiry whether they wished to remain in America or return to Africa? They replied, "Ask Cinque." Cinque said, "I think—can't tell now. I think. We talk together and think—then I tell." So that they will hold a council among themselves, and decide. I think it very probable that many of them would prefer to remain in America. They say "America country good country—America people good people—set me free."

An eye witness gives us the following statement. Intelligence was expected from Washington on Thursday the 11th. The Africans had been informed that the decision of the court might be expected. For days previous they had shown much anxiety, and this day their feelings were greatly excited, so much so that they called to persons who were passing by the prison to make inquiries. The marshal and the jailer, on receiving the New York newspapers, rode over to Westville, two miles, to communicate the intelligence to the Africans. They were all assembled in one room, and on a signal from Cinque were seated, with the deepest anxiety depicted on their countenances. The marshal then said, "The big court has come to a decision—they say that you, one and all, are free, and no slaves." Cinque immediately said, "Me glad—me thank American men—me glad." He then spoke to his countrymen in their native language. They laughed and began to talk in the Mendi tongue. The marshal addressed Cinque and inquired, "You want to go home to Africa!" Cinque said, "I don't know—I think one or two days—then say—we all talk—think of it—then me say." The marshal then showed them a newspaper, and said, "here it is in this paper—read it." Cinque beckoned to little Ka-le to read it aloud, but looked doubtingly, and said, "paper lie sometimes." Kinna said, "Me do as Cinque say—we all do as he say—me little—Cinque big—Cinque he know—I don't know—Cinque he great man—he get us all free—he president." "Yes," said Grabeau, "he president of the poor."

Rev. H. G. Ludlow and Mr. Townsend now arrived. Mr. L. said he wanted to speak to them a few moments. "Cinque," said he, "I want you, and all of you, to know that Christ has watched over you—raised up friends for you—and inclined the court to decide favourably, &c. They said, 'we very glad—love God—love Jesus Christ—He over all—we thank Him.' They then, with all the pious friends present, knelt while Mr. Ludlow offered solemn prayer and thanksgiving to God. At the close they all gave a hearty Amen, Amen.

## ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

(From *L'Esperance*.)

THE cause of the emancipation of the negroes has made great progress within a few years, in the public opinion of France. So far has this gone, that a minister declared a few days since, in the tribune, that it was this irresistible force of opinion which the government had obeyed, in constituting a council to determine the best mode of arriving at this result. Some decisions favourable to the negroes have already followed. Regulations for the treatment of slaves have been made for the colonies; ecclesiastics and schoolmasters have been sent to them; and we, in France, happy in the adoption of these measures, have not doubted an instant that they would have the proper effect. But, alas! it is one thing to make regulations, and another to enforce them. In a word, according to a little volume entitled *The Poor Negroes*, which has just been published, everything remains at the Antilles as it was before the men and the laws arrived. Our readers may judge by the following extracts, and they will then see more clearly the necessity of adopting some definitive measure.

In the colonies, the code noir, the successive ordonnances, the various regulations, the half-measures, the abortive plans of improvement, the ministerial instructions, exhibit plenty of official ameliorations, loudly proclaimed in administrative correspondence, solemnly stated in parliamentary documents, repeated to satiety in the *Moniteur*, and inserted in the columns

attached to all the journals: but what is actually done in these islands, on which they shower down so many beneficent laws? This is what I saw in 1839, and even so lately as yesterday.

I was requested to administer baptism to a negro, thirty-five years of age. His mistress, who is one of the most respectable persons in Port Royal, and who acted as interpreter, observed that the patient knew enough of christianity, and desired baptism. I interrogated him myself, and, on satisfactory evidence on his part, I administered it. The lady took me into the parlour, and this was our conversation:—

"Is it not unfortunate, M. l'abbé, that my husband persists in keeping so passionate a driver for our negroes? This is the second he has lost us; and the first was as stout as this. They are worth 1500 francs (£60) each."

"Has he beaten the man too severely?"

"No; only one blow: which, however, has affected him so unfortunately that it will kill him."

The drivers always strike the vertebrae of the neck when they are enraged.

"But why did he strike him?"

"He was entrusted with part of the cargo of a ship, which he had to carry a certain distance. It appears that he was fatigued, and that, meeting a free negro, he asked him to share his burden; our driver, seeing this, and being angry at it, hurled him a blow, by which we shall lose 1500 francs."

In an hour afterwards this unfortunate man died, and M— lost 1500 francs.

The governor, being informed of this assassination, directed the law officers to investigate the affair; and in twenty-four hours the magistrates were sufficiently enlightened to declare that there was no ground for further proceeding.

Not long ago it was resolved to reach emancipation by religious instruction. We will examine presently the value of this measure, on which every one seems to rely. What has already taken place is this. On the demand of the minister, M. de Mackau, the governor, in 1837, proposed to the council of Martinique a vote of 30,000 francs, as a remuneration for priests who should devote themselves, in the fields and cottages, to the religious instruction of the slaves. The inhabitants, resolved as they were never to open their premises to such dangerous apostles, nevertheless, enthusiastically accepted this proposition, and this supplement to the budget was voted unanimously. The colonists would prove to the capital that they were animated by the best spirit.

They gave another evidence of it. Funds were entrusted to M. Castelli, prefect apostolical, that he might return to France, and chose some ecclesiastics suitable to the work. After being absent a year, he returned alone. The vote had made a noise, but the 30,000 francs remained in the chest. The prefect, however, had shown some zeal in the business. He had frankly approved and promoted it. He had scarcely returned to the chief town of the colony, when his house was burnt down, and he escaped only with his life, and the loss of everything he had in the world. This has been generally attributed to the ill-will of the whites. The culprits have known how to evade the inquiries of the police and the government.

What is the cause of the uselessness of the schools, established at a great expense for the education of the blacks? It is to be found in the tyranny of the planters. When France sent them instructors, they monopolized them for their own children, and prohibited them to the little negroes. Thus, as we have said, the clergy established at the Antilles, from their first colonization, have not at all modified the system of slavery. This is not because they are not willing, but because they are not able. At the present moment the government is founding establishments for the brethren of christian instruction. Some of the teachers have already opened schools at Guadeloupe and Martinique. The utmost pains is taken to mould their ideas after those of the planters. They are lodged in handsome apartments; they have slaves to wait on them, with horses and boats for their journeys: but they cannot be at peace, even in private life, unless they are seen to adopt, in all their lessons, the love of tyranny and contempt for the slave class. Is it possible that young rustics from the hamlets of Brittany should resist this system of creole seduction?

It was for the same purpose that the minister of marine established, some years since, a house for the sisters of the congregation of St. Joseph, at the town of St. Pierre. These ladies soon received at their establishment none but white children, because, seeing that this sagacious preference brought them 55,000 to 60,000 francs annually; seeing also that those who held out their arms to them were rich, and could afford them effectual protection, they have not hesitated to give to their instructions that colonial spirit and irreligious tendency which have just drawn from the bishop of Autun, their superior, that formal condemnation in which M. Quelen has shewn his entire concurrence, by prohibiting the celebration of holy offices in their mother house at Paris. Now, for this school, from which little girls of colour, although free, are thus repelled, the government has created a situation which is worth 100,000 francs, and it pays annually towards the support of the religieuses from 25,000 to 30,000 francs. Slaves belonging to government they have for servants. The expenses of their voyages and journeys are defrayed. They draw from their sixty pupils a revenue of 71,000 francs annually: and why these enormous charges? For the whites, to the exclusion of the blacks.

With money, at Paris, one can open for one's-self all the royal colleges, and the evil consists only in the nature of the instruction and the quality of the teachers; but at the Antilles, every establishment, every college, all instruction, is prohibited to the very great majority of the population. Ignorance is the normal condition of a slave people, and the colonists will find means of perpetuating it. There are two ways by which the negroes may be led to knowledge. First, the lessons sold by the schoolmasters, who make them buy them. Now the negroes have no money. On the other hand, their attendance at the schools is a recreation: their labour is never interrupted. Secondly, the lessons given gratuitously by the priests, the brethren, and religious persons; and we have seen how they get rid of them. For the rest, the workshops are closed against them; and whenever they may seem disposed to force an entrance, they will be driven from the colony. The last ordonnances (1840) for the education of the young negroes have been universally denounced as impracticable.



Nothing but liberty, immediate liberty, emancipation without indemnity, can make this enormous evil disappear. Such a law would, as by enchantment, make the entire population, both masters and slaves, see no more safety but in liberty, which, we know, is the life of all things. The proprietors, in losing their slaves, would recollect that they have lands; and, having no other method or hope of obtaining it, instead of favouring the ignorance of the people, which was fatal to them, they would push on instruction, in order to give to labour which had become free, the skill, the sagacity, and the energy, which should make agriculture and every other employment flourish. In their turn the emancipated would feel, in their new relief, a more imperious want of instruction, and would gradually raise themselves in knowledge and in wealth. The colonies, then worthy of France, would have been regenerated by her.

## SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

No. 3.

[From the *Morning Chronicle*.]

If we may credit those who have reported on the subject, the condition of the slaves in British India is not only bearable, but enviable, as compared with that of multitudes who call themselves freemen. The system under which they are held is denominated patriarchal, their treatment is said to be mild and gentle; and, it is affirmed, that no comparison whatever can be instituted between their circumstances and those of the late bondsmen in the West India colonies. "Turning," says Mr. Colebrooke, "from law to practice, we find domestic slavery very general among Hindoos and Mussulmans. More trusty than hired servants, slaves are almost exclusively employed in the interior of the house for attendance on the members of the family, and in all the most confidential services. Every opulent person, every one raised above the condition of the simplest mediocrity, is provided with household slaves, and from this class chiefly are taken the concubines of Mussulmans and Hindoos, in regard to whom it is to be remembered, that concubinage is not among people of those religions an immoral state, but a relation which both law and custom recognize without reprehension; and its prevalence is liable only to the same objection as polygamy, with which it has a near and almost necessary connexion." "I trust not to be considered an advocate for slavery, nor indifferent to the miseries incident to the most degraded condition in human society, when I observe that, in this country, slaves are in general treated with gentleness and indulgence. I should, however, demonstrate only an ill acquaintance with human character, if I affirmed this to prevail universally, without any exception. I cannot doubt that bad temper and disposition sometimes constitute a harsh, severe, and even cruel master; nor have I been without occasions of being convinced that such characters are to be found amongst the owners of slaves." This gentleman, therefore, when he wrote the foregoing passages, deprecated the agitation of the subject of slavery, and was opposed to any decided measures to put it down. His remarks had reference, however, exclusively to the treatment of domestic slaves.

There are others, more observant than Mr. Colebrooke appears to have been, who bring us better acquainted with the system of Indian slavery, both prædial and domestic.

## CONDITION OF PRÆDIAL SLAVES.

"Nothing can be more abject and wretched," says Mr. Baber, "than the condition of that degraded race of mortals, the slaves of Malabar, whose huts are little better than mere baskets, and whose diminutive stature and squalid appearance evidently show a want of adequate nourishment." (Parliamentary Papers, 128—1834, pp. 7, 27).

"The slave," says Mr. Graeme, in his report on Malabar, 1822, "has his sieve of a hut in the centre of the rice lands; but, on the coast at least he is an industrious, and not an unintelligent being, in good condition, and nothing deficient in bodily frame. In the interior, he is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature, stunted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather; whose state demands that commiseration and melioration which may confidently be expected from the humanity of the British government." (Ibid, p. 23).

Mr. Campbell, in reply to the questions on slavery proposed by the Board of Control in 1832, states, "The creatures in human form who constitute, to the number of 100,000, the agrestic slave population of Malabar, being distinguishable, like the savage tribes still to be found in some of the forests of Arabia, from the rest of the human race, by their degraded, diminutive, squalid appearance, their dropsical pot bellies, contrasting horridly with their skeleton arms and legs, half-starved, hardly clothed, and in a condition scarcely superior to the cattle they follow at the plough." (Ibid, p. 33.)

In answer to the same queries, the Rev. Joseph Fenn observed, "They present a wretched appearance to the beholder. . . . The slaves are in the lowest possible state of degradation. . . . If it were lawful," he adds, "to speak so of fellow-creatures, possessing the same capabilities and the same destinies as British Christians, I should say they were WILD MEN." (Ibid, p. 3.)

These gentlemen refer to the general condition of the prædial slaves in the western peninsula of India. From the evidence of these, and other persons of high reputation, in answer to queries submitted to them by the commissioners for the affairs of India in 1832, we learn that "husbands and wives are separated by sale to different parties" (Fenn). "That they are sold off the estates where they were born and bred, . . . And the nearest

and dearest associations and ties of our common nature severed" (Baber). That they are sold "in satisfaction of revenue arrears," or, "when proprietors are in want of cash to pay the revenues" (Baber). That "slaves can be and are sold at pleasure" (Welsh). That "the sale of agrestic slaves is common" (Campbell). The children of female slaves, recognised by the Mohammedan and Hindoo laws as the absolute property of their owners, are considered by those laws to inherit the condition of their mothers; and, consequently, to be slaves for life, unless the acknowledged offspring of their owner, in which case both the mother and child are entitled to freedom." Thus are they regarded and treated as mere articles of property. (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 318.)

CLOTHING.—In reference to their clothing, we find that "there is a custom of giving them a cloth occasionally, the only clothing they wear" (Fenn). That "the allowance consists of a waistcloth, called moond, to men; and moori, signifying a fragment, to females; it is just large enough to wrap round their loins, and is of the value of one or two fanaams, equal to from 6d. to 1s.; in some districts this is given but once a year, but more generally twice. . . . As a substitute for these waistcloths, it is very common, especially in the retired parts of the country, to use or wear bunches of leaves, generally of the wild plantain tree, supported by a fibre of some tree or vine" (Baber).

FOOD.—With respect to food we gather the following particulars:—"The daily allowance of slaves varies from one and a half to one and three-quarters seers of paddy (rice in the husk) to the male; and from one to one and a quarter to the female slave." The "daily wages of a freeman are about one-third more," but then he works only till noon, whereas the slave has to toil from morning until evening, "and to keep watch by turns at night in the paddy field" (Baber). "The food, clothing, and comforts of the agrestic slaves are everywhere inferior to those of the domestic one" (Campbell). "The general condition of the agrestic slaves is bad everywhere. They enjoy little comfort, have coarse, precarious, and scanty food, (Dr. Buchanan states not more than 'two-sevenths of what is a reasonable quantity,') bad clothing, frequently none at all, and no provision (that ever I could learn) for old age or sickness. The domestic slaves are for the most part better off, but still subject to the despotic will of their owners, in everything short of life" (Welsh). In the Tamil country, "some of them who are outcasts possess also a right to all the cattle that die from disease; and they eat the flesh of such animals, as well as that of snakes and other reptiles; but in general their food is the coarsest grain" (Campbell). In times of scarcity, "they are left to eke out a miserable existence by feeding upon wild yams, and such refuse as would be sought after by that extreme wretchedness which envied the husks that the swine did eat" (Baber).

LABOUR.—The labour exacted from them is onerous and oppressive. "They are employed in all kinds of agricultural labour, rice tillage, and the sugar cane" (Fenn), "without the intermission of a single day, so long as their masters can find employment for them" (Baber). "They have no particular hours which they can call their own, nor any day in the week set apart for rest or devotion" (Welsh). "In the Tamil country the men are employed in ploughing the land and sowing the seed, and on all the various laborious works necessary for the irrigation of the land upon which the rice is grown; the women in transplanting the rice plants, and both in reaping the crop. . . . They usually work from sunrise to sunset, with an intermission of two hours for meals. They are not exempted from work on any particular day of the week" (Campbell). "The slave has to toil from morning till evening; after which he has to keep watch by turns at night, in sheds erected on an open platform in the centre of the paddy field, several feet under water, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, to scare away trespassing cattle, or wild animals" (Baber).

Besides their ordinary agricultural employments, these slaves are also often engaged in erecting temporary rooms, or pandols, used by their masters on marriages or other festivals, and occasionally are called upon, by requisition of the collector or magistrate issued to their masters, to aid in stopping any sudden breach in the great works of irrigation conducted at the expense of government, or in dragging the enormous cars of the idols round the villages or temples, to move which immense cables dragged by many thousands are necessary. In Tanjore, in particular, from the great number of temples, and the frequency of the festivals, this is a very onerous duty." (Campbell). "I have observed the slaves in gangs when they have been pressed to make or repair the high roads; to carry the luggage of public servants and their establishments; of marching regiments and of travellers; or when carrying treasure, remittances from the several talook-cutcherries to the collector's treasury at Calicut (and scarcely a week passes, that parties of ten to one hundred of those slaves do not arrive); or, when bringing stolen goods with parties of robbers sent in by the different police officers; or when carrying the company's tobacco from the several depôts for sale to the talook and revenue cutcherries; on all which occasions they are guarded by kolkars, (armed peons) or choorabakar (persons with canes), to prevent their running away; and it must be confessed, that it is no less a source of complaint to the masters, than grievance to their slaves, to be so worked" (Baber).

PUNISHMENTS.—The discipline required under such circumstances, to coerce labour and enforce obedience to the will of the master, must be necessarily severe; we therefore find, that, if slaves either refuse to work or run away, they are, on being



caught, "flogged and put in the stocks for some days, and afterwards made to work with chains on" (Baber). "Moreover, there is hardly a sessions of gaol delivery, the calendars of which (though a vast number of crimes occurring are never reported) do not contain cases of wounding and even murdering slaves, chiefly brought to light by the efforts of the police, though, generally speaking, they (the slaves) are the most enduring, unresisting and unoffending classes of the people" (Baber). "The lash, or at least coercive strokes, are, I fear, too commonly used, and indiscriminately to both sexes" (Welsh). "The practice of slitting, and even cutting off the noses of slaves was formerly, and is said even now, to prevail" (Baber). As "corporal punishment prevails much in India," (Fenn) and as the use of the lash has been recognised by the Sudder Foujdary court in Malabar as a legal punishment for slaves, it will not be difficult to imagine the torture to which they may sometimes be put in exacting compulsory toil. (Parl. Paper, 128, 1838, pp. 9, 10, 13, 20, 32, &c.)

**MEDICAL ATTENDANCE.**—In old age and sickness the slaves appear to be utterly neglected. "I am not aware of any provision for age or sickness" (Fenn). "They enjoy no provision (that ever I could learn) for old age or sickness" (Welsh). "Sickness among them causes no additional attention on the part of the proprietors, who frequently lose many of their slaves when an epidemic gets among them," (Bevan).

The moral and social, as well as the physical degradation of these wretched beings is complete. Sunk in the grossest superstition, their principal worship is offered to "Bott, the devil," (Baber). "The slaves profess generally either the Mohammedan or Hindoo religion, with a small portion of christians; but, as far as mortal can judge, their religion consists chiefly in outward observances; their morals being, like their persons, most wretchedly debased," (Welsh). "On the western coast I fear it will be found that the slaves generally propitiate the evil spirit alone, and many of them are believed to practise sorcery" (Campbell).

Two or three facts will illustrate their social degradation. They are "compelled," says Mr. Brown, "whenever they come in sight of a habitation, to fly from the public high road, and make a long circuit to avoid the remotest approach; forced to utter a cry, to give warning to others that a human being, not a dog, was coming—and driven, whenever their cry was answered, to hide themselves in the jungle. Thus it is that the right of public way, which is freely conceded to every beast of the field, is denied to a whole class of human beings. . . . The unhappy Pooliar," it is added, "is in a condition which ranks him beneath the lowest brute, and his state is without a parallel in the annals of human abjectness and degradation." (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 413.) And Dr. Buchanan, who travelled extensively in Malabar, Canara, and Mysore, states, that "they follow all the oxen and buffaloes of the village, as so much live stock, when these are driven in procession at a great festival which the farmers annually celebrate." (Adam's Law and Custom &c., p. 264.) Mr. Newnham, first Judge of Circuit, western division Madras, in alluding to a certain legal process which came before him, expressed his repugnance "at a demand made in a civil suit of twenty Moolumishers, value fifty pagodas, without individual specification, immediately followed by a like summary demand for brute animals," and "at the practice of thus suing, without name, or individual description, for so many sentient creatures of God." (Par. Pap. 138, 1839, p. 405). In another communication, he speaks of them "as having been claimed as *feræ naturæ*, that became the property of the owner of the ground on which they, by becoming resident, can be taken into bondage." (Ibid. p. 427). "The slaves," says the reverend Mr. Fenn, "are in the lowest possible state of degradation . . . and 'nothing,' he adds, 'but christianity, in my opinion, descends low enough to meet them, and to raise them to the level of mankind.'" (Par. Pap. 128, 1834, p. 3.) The foregoing extracts chiefly refer to the condition and general treatment of agrestic slaves.

**DOMESTICS AND DANCING GIRLS.**—The domestic slaves, those of them who become the favourites of their masters, are treated with greater leniency. "They are well fed," and "well clothed. Such, however, is not the lot of the female domestic slaves employed as attendants in the seraglios of Mussulmans of rank; they are too often treated with caprice, and frequently punished with much cruelty. . . . The complaints made to me as superintendent of police at Madras, gave me an insight into transactions committed in the recesses of the female apartments, which has left on my mind a strong impression of the cruelty and wanton barbarity with which this class of female slaves is subject to be treated; indeed, little doubt can be entertained that the seclusion of female slaves in the harems of Mussulmans of rank, too often precludes complaint, prevents redress, and cloaks crimes at which Europeans would shudder." (Campbell.) Occasionally these victims of a ruthless oppression escape from their tormentors, "bearing on their persons the scars and wounds which have been inflicted on them; and sometimes providentially, by the merest accident, their murder has come to the knowledge of the police." (Ibid. pp. 10, 20, 32). Several atrocious cases of the barbarous treatment of female slaves, not inserted in the parliamentary papers, have come before the courts in Calcutta, the details of which should have been given had our limits permitted their insertion; but we pass on to consider the case of another class, to whose extremely debased and wretched condition we call particular attention.

The situation of "the dancing girls," says Judge Lascelles, "is by far the most objectionable, combining as it does every attendant

on the very worst description of slavery. Initiated in early youth into the mysteries of their profession, and immured within the walls of the pagoda, they are taught, as the first and chief lesson, to consider an implicit and blind obedience to the will of the Brahmin as their highest duty; and their obedience forms their sole and only code of moral obligation. The wily guardians appear to make it their chief endeavour to destroy all that would ennoble the female character, and foster the basest passions of the human heart, as the means of pandering to the vices of the multitude, and continuing to themselves their ill-gotten revenue. . . . Their servile compliance with the disgusting desires of their superiors robs them of all self-respect. . . . It will readily be believed how degrading this system is to the miserable subjects of it. . . . But the evil of this description does not stop here; there is, unhappily, too great cause to apprehend a latent mischief of more fearful magnitude. To say that these miserable beings are subject to the caprice of their masters, the Brahmins, is but to say, in other words, that they suffer under the worst slavery known either in ancient or modern times. Their excesses, it is true, are rarely exposed, for they are veiled in all the intricacies of their religious observances, and witnessed only by the actors of them, in the security of their polluted walls; but this much is open to observation. *The aged are seldom found among this wretched class, nor is it possible, in many cases, to trace their steps. It would be superfluous, he adds, to draw an inference which is so very obvious.*" (Parl. Pap. 138, 1839; p. 391-2.)

One word of comment on the foregoing statements is unnecessary. The painful details speak for themselves. To hesitate one moment in applying the necessary remedy would be as inhuman as criminal.

Note.—For additional information on the points referred to in this paper, consult Parl. Papers, No. 128, 1834, and No. 138, 1839; Adam's Law and Custom of Slavery in British India, pp. 51 to 73, and pp. 163 to 194; and Peggs's East India Slavery, pp. 1 to 34.

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of Mr. Tyler is under consideration.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

### Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 21st.

OUR foreign intelligence this week is scanty. Our readers, however, will find interesting matter in the articles relating to France, Brazil, and British India. We direct attention especially to the address to the President of the United States, confided for presentation to Mr. Sturge.

THE American papers have brought us the details of the memorable triumph of justice achieved in the supreme court of the United States, by the liberation of the Africans captured in the *Amistad*. Lengthened extracts will be found in another column. To these particulars we have the pleasure of adding some others, conveyed in a private letter to Mr. G. W. Alexander, which we are permitted to insert below.

New York, March 25th, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—The committee in New York who have had, and still have, the charge of the interests of the Africans taken in the schooner *Amistad*, feel themselves called upon to express to you their sincere thanks for the kind interest you have taken in their case, and for your considerate zeal in urging the subject upon the attention of the Spanish government. The very favourable and happy result of the final trial in the Supreme Court of the United States, of which the papers sent herewith will give you the particulars, ought to awaken our gratitude to the giver of all good, and encourage us to further efforts in behalf of these interesting strangers.

Having, through the Divine blessing, obtained their complete deliverance, we are now desirous of obtaining the fullest remuneration practicable for their wrongs, and a restoration to their own native homes, carrying with them to their kindred all the blessings of the gospel and of civilised life.

We are desirous of bringing several points in the case more fully before the British government, particularly the statement made by Vega, the Spanish Vice-Consul at Boston, the prostitution of official forms and functions at Havana in the shipment of these Africans as *ladinos*, with a clearance as passengers on account of the government; and the liability of Ruiz and Montes to exemplary punishment by the laws of Spain.

We also wish to obtain the fullest information that can be had with regard to the country from which these Africans came, supposed to be 300 to 400 miles from the coast, among the mountains from which the rivers Sherbro, Gallinas, and St. Paul's take their rise, rather south of the latitude of Sierra Leone; the geography of the country, and the practicability of reaching it by these people; the route to be pursued, whether to land at Sierra Leone, Gallinas, or Monrovia—whether under English or American protection—whether in small companies or all together, by what white men attended, what provisions for the journey, how long time, and what expense, &c. It is supposed the African Institution, the Geographical Society, the Officers of Government, Sir F. Buxton's Society, or the merchants concerned in the African trade, may furnish valuable information on some of these points. We shall write to Sir John Jeremie, Governor of Sierra Leone, and to David Turnbull, Esq., H. B. M. Con-



sul at Havana, asking information on the subject. It is possible some of the officers of the navy who have been employed in the slave-trade suppression service may aid these investigations, which are highly important, involving, as they do, the happiness of these exiles, and, perhaps, the safety of their lives in attempting to return to their loved Mendi. We cannot but cherish a hope that the recent exploit of H. B. M. cruisers in breaking up the establishment of Pedro Blanco, at Gallinas, (the very man who held these people,) may ere long put a period to the dreadful wars, and other devastating commotions, which have hitherto spread over the vast region whence the waste of that horrid slave-factory has been supplied, so that a safe access may be had to the Mendi land.

Finally, we design to invoke the aid of our own government, in sending these people home at the public expense, as a small recompense for their long and unrighteous imprisonment by the requirement of the national executive.

We make no apology for troubling you with these inquiries, with the proof already before us that your benevolence has identified you with the case as much as ourselves. It is now desirable for us to avoid, if possible, the expense of sending a messenger to London, to obtain the necessary information on which we have to act. We think it important to send the Africans (such as choose it) home, as soon as it can be ascertained to be practicable and reasonably safe.

We are, dear Sir, with much respect, your fellow labourers in the cause of humanity,

G. W. ALEXANDER, Esq.

SIMON S. JOCELYN,  
JOSHUA LEAVITT,  
LEWIS TAPPAN.

ALTHOUGH the Directors of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association persist in their refusal to allow Mr. Tuckett and his friends access to the list of shareholders, they have undertaken to forward to every member of this body, together with the official notice of the meeting on the 15th proximo, any communication which may be confided to them for this purpose. It is now, certain, therefore, for we cannot suppose that the Directors will betray the confidence they solicit, that every shareholder will be made acquainted with the facts, and with the necessity there is for action. We cannot entertain any doubt of the result. Every shareholder will feel a heavy individual responsibility; and even those who would not have taken part in a meeting for the transaction of ordinary business, will encounter whatever trouble may be imposed upon them by so loud a call of humanity and justice.

We have inserted in another column an article from the *Mining Journal* on this important subject, in which, after some remarks on the general issue in an admirable spirit, the writer adverts to the question, whether the mines could be profitably worked without slave-labour, and expresses his doubts on this point. Although, in a matter so deeply involving principles of humanity and justice, the question of loss or gain cannot be permitted to exercise a ruling influence, it will nevertheless have some weight, no doubt, in the deliberations of parties whose property is so largely implicated. We are happy, therefore, in being able to say, that grounds exist for believing the very contrary of what is apprehended. We have had a letter some time in our possession from a gentleman whose nephew (now in a distant part of the world) was for a considerable period on the spot, the principal part of which bears so directly and so cheerily on the subject before us, that we shall now submit it to consideration.

To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

I am very glad to find the case of the poor slaves owned and employed by the Gongo Soco Mining Association brought forward in your periodical, and trust they will never be lost sight of by you until their deliverance is effected. I had heard of their extreme oppression, some years since from a nephew of mine who was a clerk in a smaller mine, not far from Gongo Soco. On his return home he gave me an account of the treatment of the slaves, which quite accorded with that now given by your correspondent, Mr. Kentish. Among other things, he told me that forty of the slaves absconded at one time, and were never again recovered, but quite lost to the Company. Considering the very great precariousness of capital invested in slaves from that cause, and also from the many other casualties, together with their constant deterioration from age, and taking into account further the high price paid in their purchase, one cannot help wondering what motive there can be for preferring their labour to that of freemen. This can be had to any extent at one shilling a day, even at the mines, whilst in Brazil generally eight-pence is (or was) the common rate of wages for able-bodied men. The cost of a slave is £80 sterling, and money in Brazil was worth eight per cent. per annum; so that, to cover interest, wear and tear, and heavy casualties, including desertion, we can hardly put down less than twenty per cent., or £16 a year; whilst 313 working days of free labour cost only, at 1s. per diem, £15 13s. But we have also to add the cost of maintenance of the slave, and further to take into account the very inferior value of slave-labour compared with free; and in this item their greatest loss will be found. One of the Cornish miners, who has returned home, states, that every twenty slaves have one of the English miners appointed as a driver, and that he himself had been so employed there; that it was with very great difficulty he could get them to do their work; and that he was obliged to whip them continually to get them to do anything. Our friend Joseph J. Gurney also states, you will recollect, that fifty emancipated men in our West India islands will do as much work as three hundred slaves in the United States of America. Now, when we have added this to the former items in the account of slave-labour, we shall find it will amount to a heavy loss indeed; and you will think with me, that it is high time the shareholders should be apprised of this gross mismanagement in their affairs. The only way it would seem we can account for the preference given to the labour of slaves, is that the love of despotic power is inherent in our fallen nature, and that rapacious avarice blinds men to their true interest, even in worldly affairs.

C. C.

As his nephew is abroad, and out of the reach of direct appeal, our correspondent does not permit us to give his name; to us,

however, it is a guarantee of the value of his communication, which we earnestly commend to the attention of all parties concerned.

We may add that the recent movements in Brazil towards the abolition of slavery throughout the empire, should not be lost on the Mining Associations which have property there. What a disgrace will it be to large and respectable bodies of Englishmen, to be found clinging to the last to a system of wrong and ruin, which Brazilians themselves shall have sagacity enough to abandon!

We are happy in being able to announce a very promising movement on the abolition question in the kingdom of Sweden. In both houses of the diet an address to the king has been moved and carried, soliciting an inquiry into the state of slavery at St. Bartholomew's, with a view to its termination. The address was moved in the upper house by Professor Gier, a person of distinguished literary rank, and by his brother in the lower.

#### NOTES FROM THE LETTERS OF A TRAVELLER IN BRAZIL.

##### ANECDOTE OF TWO RUNAWAY SLAVES.

— SHORTLY after, two runaway slaves were brought to the door of the venda, (a public house, or inn). They were tall, well-looking men. They were directed to sit down, which they accordingly did on the earth, with their backs against the wall of the venda. Shortly afterwards their master arrived. He had a well caparisoned horse. He entered the venda, and took the other end opposite to mine, so that I had no communication with him. He had scarcely entered when a by-stander asked them (the slaves) a question, which they answered by sounds of Bow, wow, wow, intimating that they were taken by dogs. I now learned that these poor creatures were new negros, who could not speak Portuguese. Alas! torn from their homes and relations, and transported to a country in which, by the law of 1831, they are virtually free; but now cheated of that freedom by perjury, forgery, and fraud! My new acquaintance walked with me as I turned from this scene, and shortly after asked my opinion on slavery. I was in no mood for duplicity or disguise, and was favoured with a flow of words by which I argued its wickedness, and proved that free labour was more profitable. In all this he appeared to be well pleased. We parted, and I returned to the venda. It was now six o'clock, and the runaways were ordered to stand up, which they obeyed. Their blankets, or rugs, as full of dust and dirt as if they had been used for wiping the road, were now thrown over them. These covered their heads, and hung down to their knees. Such a picture of misery was never surpassed, particularly when the owner, well and comfortably dressed, was seen to retire to a good dinner, whilst these poor creatures were led to the stable, to sleep for the night under charge of two keepers. At night I resolved to ask pardon for the captives. I accordingly rose on hearing the keeper open the door of the stable, which was underneath my room. I opened my window, and asked him if he thought I could obtain their pardon. He replied, "Naõ, Senhor, that cannot be." I, however, wrote the following note to the owner (the note was in Portuguese, but I translate it): "I entreat pardon for the two slaves, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who said, 'Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful.' I hope that, if you grant this petition, our Father in heaven, will bless you and your family." I now heard the keeper preparing to move his prisoners, and I opened my window. It was a cloudy, misty, cold morning. I called him again, and offered him money if he would deliver it to his master, at the same time telling him the subject. He replied, "Can you not deliver it yourself?" "How? he is in bed?" "No, Senhor, he is up, preparing to accompany us." I threw my cloak over my dress, and went through the rain into his parlour, where he was with the landlord, and one of his keepers. He was seated at the table. I presented him my card, which he read. I told him the object of my visit, but, saying that I could write Portuguese better than speak it, I requested he would peruse the note, which I now presented. He read it over, paused, and read it again. His countenance seemed to indicate that his conscience required more than he was willing to grant. He read it again—paused—at length he said, "Eu naõ os tocarei, I will not touch them." I retired, thanking him, and returned to my bed, where sweet sleep closed my eyes until eight o'clock, when the master and his captives were miles away. I now prepared for my departure; and, when I had advanced some miles on my journey, I saw one of the keepers who was in the breakfast room with the slave-owner, when I presented my petition for the pardon of the captives. I moved towards him, and anxiously desiring to know how the poor creatures were treated, extended my arm, as offering to shake hands with him. But he advanced, saying "Nao, nao, nao, Senhor;" and stooping, took my foot and kissed it. I was much affected by this, but my anxiety for the slaves prevented my giving way, until I asked if they were really pardoned. He replied, "Yes, they were not touched." I sent a kind message of thanks, and moved forward. O love! love! surely thy power is omnipotent, that thus thou couldst make a human being offer such a mark of attention as to kiss my feet! All the whips in the Brazilian empire could not do this.



## BRAZILIAN MINING—GONGO SOCO MINE.

I have seen the *Reporter* containing Kertish's letters (the two first) and the reply to the first. 'Tis a loss of time to quibble about the slaves working in the extreme depth of the Gongo Soco Mine. I have now before me a particular account of my descent into that mine, (occupying ten pages) when I walked through a portion of its various levels, to the extent of three quarters of a mile. Of the details of this enterprize I made a rough sketch; and, because the ways were so intricate and the passages so dark, I read it over to the captain of the mine, who, with the plan in his hand, adjusted what I wrote. The mine is sixty-two fathoms deep in the shaft by which I descended, and fifty-five in that by which I ascended. There are eight levels, or leading galleries, one below the other, about seven fathoms. The bottoms of these are not more than four feet wide. In the seven lowest of them, the bottom is covered by streams of water which oozes through the sides of the openings from the body of the mountain. The streams from the seventh and eighth levels are pumped up to the sixth, or water adit, into which fall those from the second, third, fourth, and fifth levels. Thus a large rivulet is formed, which runs underground more than a mile, till it finds egress from the side of the mountain. It must now be easily understood, that, after reaching the first of these water courses, there is no difference in the hardship of the labourer. The white men labour there also; but these are engaged as miners, following leaders to the gold, or digging out auriferous lodes. These work on their own heaps, which are taken away by the slaves, who roll them in barrows through the water. Working in dry places is the exception to the negro, working in wet places is the exception to the white.

## ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS CIRCULATING IN BRAZIL.

Address to English Residents (in course of distribution).....	1200
Ditto, in Portuguese (in the hands of the binder) .....	2000
In Portuguese, Testimony of J. Scoble and J. J. Gurney on the results of Emancipation (in course of distribution) 2000	
Reply to a Roman Catholic Priest (in the press).....	800
Ditto, in Portuguese (in the press).....	1200
Reply to Philemon (now preparing) .....	1000

## SLAVE COLONIES OF FRANCE.

87.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Decrease.
Martinique	36,346	39,666	76,012	15	2,303	2,592	289
Guadeloupe	45,606	48,985	94,591	19	1,857	1,883	26
Cayenne	8,523	7,617	16,140	43	297	628	331
Bourbon	43,763	24,432	68,195	—	1,001	2,359	1358
Senegal	—	—	10,096	—	—	—	—
	134,238	120,700	265,034	77	5,458	7,462	2004

The number of slaves at Pondicherry, Mahé, Karikal, Chander-nagur, and Yandon, in the East Indies, has not been ascertained. Besides the slave population of Bourbon, there 1388 Coolies, who have been introduced from the British possessions, under contracts to labour for given periods of time.

Notes on the foregoing tabular statement.

1. The number of female slaves in Martinique and Guadeloupe greatly preponderates over the males; a clear proof that, if slavery falls with less severity on the former, as a whole, than on the latter, concubinage with the free part of the community must be dreadfully prevalent. On the plantations there are not less than 20,646 free persons, the largest portion of whom are males. There can be no doubt, however, that the female slaves who are compelled to toil with the men are greater sufferers than they, for reasons which must be obvious to all, and therefore need not be specified.

In Cayenne and Bourbon there is a great disparity of the sexes, particularly in the latter colony; which demonstrates that the slave-trade has prevailed there to a very late period, and probably continues to this very hour, notwithstanding the honest and praiseworthy endeavours of the French Government to suppress it. It is said, that occasionally, small numbers of African slaves are still introduced into Martinique and Guadeloupe.

2. In Martinique and Guadeloupe the decrease in the slave-population has been 315; in Cayenne and Bourbon 1689; in all 2004. The free-population of these four colonies is 117,741, and the excess of births over deaths 835, in the same period; notwithstanding the offspring of the illicit connexions between the free males and female slaves is added to the former—such offspring following the condition of the mother.

In comparing the number of children under fourteen years of age of the free and slave populations of the French colonies, we have the following results:—viz. Free children 39,024, slave children only 67,547; whereas there should have been of the latter 84,580 to balance the former—the slave-population being 254,938, and the free 117,741.

3. The number of marriages celebrated among the free-population during the year was 559; among the slave-population of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Cayenne 77, in Bourbon none! The system thus stands revealed in all its deformity and cruelty—licentiousness and murder are its chief characteristics.

## SENTIMENT IN BRAZIL.

THE late Senhor José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, the patriarch of Brazilian independence, and brother to two of the present ministers, published a memoir against slavery, which has recently been reprinted at Rio de Janeiro, with an introductory preface; a translation of which will be found below. As showing with how much energy and promise anti-slavery sentiments are working in the empire of Brazil, it is a document of much interest.

The scandal with which, daily, thousands of unhappy Africans, torn from their homes to increase our own misfortunes, are landed on our shores, cannot be contemplated without the most painful feelings, by any one who reflects on the future condition of Brazil.

Planters, blinded by habit and by false conceptions regarding their interests, merchants, and authorities, stand accused of carrying on or favouring the commerce in human flesh; either allured by lucre, or apprehensive of the perils to which they would expose themselves, if they were to resist the torrent of prejudice or of rapacity.

Thus much is certain, that, along all the extensive coast of Brazil, this traffic is appalling from its extent and number; and that the feeling of the public generally as yet attaches no shame to this species of crime. Nor can we wonder at this. A great number of years did Wilberforce, and other enemies of the African trade, labour to insinuate their ideas, which were those of reason and of justice, into the enlightened British parliament, and only after a thousand repeated efforts they obtained their victory. After the prohibition of the slave-trade in the British dominions, the law was nevertheless a long time eluded in the colonies, and very energetic measures were necessary to put an end to such shameful proceedings.

The principal means for so great an end is that of persuasion, and much will have been done towards it, if the now ruling ideas in favour of the introduction of slaves into Brazil be replaced by more healthy and judicious ones. It is with this view that we now reprint the celebrated Memoir against slavery, by the patriarch of the independence of this country, the late Senhor José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva.

The means of conviction are slow, it is true, and also uncertain in their results; they have to contend against the incentive of immediate gains, and the strongest reasons will only with difficulty enter minds pre-occupied and seduced by the love of gain. On the other hand, all measures are useless, if public feeling is in any manner against them; therefore the greatest care should be taken to rectify public feeling, by spreading information through the mass of the people, and making them see that such traffic directly offends the rights of humanity, and is at the same time ruinous to the land, as well as to all the individuals of whom our industrial population is composed.

This does not exclude the use of administrative measures, and the enforcement of the laws, which, on these points, have up to this day remained a dead letter. And indeed, the dealer in human flesh, the introducer of barbarism into the midst of our retarded civilization, the contrabandist in slaves, is quite sure of impunity; while, on the other hand, they are invited to this fraud by the immense gain which it leaves.

To avoid the punishment of piracy, they have got the Portuguese flag ready always to lend itself to the most infamous tricks which that trade requires; and our country is inundated with a savage and stupid people, whose present numbers should already excite our serious apprehensions.

We will not now stop to show the hatefulness of this infamous traffic, nor shall we enter into the horrifying details of the mortality of these poor people on their passage from Africa to Brazil, heaped one on the other like so many logs of wood, or thrown overboard when a cruiser approaches; we will not enter into the examination of any of the atrocities of which many are victims, even within our own civilized capital; let us look on this matter with a general glance, and consider slavery such as it must be, and as it is impossible to be otherwise.

The sad gift of African slaves was a plague-spot thrown on our country, and has retarded the real prosperity of our blessed land, by villifying industry amongst us, which vivifies everything, and without which there is neither riches nor social happiness.

Frail machines, subject to a thousand infirmities, carried off at every instant by illness, and always remaining in a state of brutality by their very condition, slaves can never be other than a very imperfect instrument for the support of our agriculture, and are totally useless for the arts, or for the support of any sort of manufacturing business.

Immense capitals employed in negroes are every year interred, or made useless by illness or by age.

Meanwhile, the facility of finding these machines all ready at hand, prevents an attention being given to the improvements introduced into every process of industry by the activity of the European spirit of enterprize; and our procuring a better population by inviting colonists of other nations, who would cultivate the soil for themselves or for others.

The existence of slaves, and what is most fatal to colonization, their uninterrupted importation from the African forests, perpetuates the ignorance and apathy of a numerous class of our cultivators of the soil, and renders it impossible to root up the errors which the blind routine of past times has introduced into our agriculture.

The slave has not, and cannot have, any interest whatsoever in any kind of improvement of industry; he has not the stimulus of wretchedness to drive him to adopt any better method of labour, he only fulfils his hated task. But, if the slave is capable of improvement, we may say that the native African is so, certainly, in but a very small degree: for his intellectual capacities have been suppressed by the savage life which he pursued in his native forests, which has given them a turn which resists every kind of civilization.

Who would yet this day doubt of the advantages which free labour has over slave labour? To believe that a free man cannot perform certain work in Brazil, would be to establish that as a general and absolute fact, which depends entirely on the existence of slavery, and which will gradually disappear with slavery. Concerning its morality, who does not see and acknowledge that certain habits contracted by many of our countrymen originate in slavery? From our first childhood we are waited upon in the most trivial movements of life, and we disdain labour as belonging only to the servile, to the slave; and thus we go on, contracting defects and vices which are of the saddest consequence to our own felicity. Slavery carries corruption and vice to the very heart of families, whether by repeated examples of the grossest immorality, or by the depravity which it instils into the mind of so many children, entrusted to slaves, who, in many



cases, become the teachers of infamy and of every vice. What examples do these not generally see before them? And how can a man in his public career be free and moral, who from the cradle was accustomed to be a despot and a tyrant? Will not his very inclinations, his very ideas of liberty not be affected by such habits? Can it be said that the relations between master and slave are calculated to rectify the human heart? What open gate do they not offer for every kind of moral confusion! As yet they go on without conscience, shutting their eyes to a fearful futurity, filling our land with new recruits for slavery, whose numbers, without exaggeration, are rated at 50,000 per annum. No! Brazil can have no worse enemies than the slave-traders; they are men who, for the sake of an infamous profit, go on putting fresh barrels of powder to the mine, which threatens to blow us up altogether.

#### EFFORTS IN HOLLAND.

We have the pleasure of communicating some cheering facts respecting the cause of abolition in this country, in the following extract of a letter from Mr. James Laming, of Rotterdam, Treasurer to the Anti-slavery Society in that place, to Mr. G. W. Alexander. It is of the 2nd instant.

"A few days since I met on board one of our steam-boats, a very independent member of our states-general. In conversation with him I introduced the subject of slavery, and was much pleased to find that this gentleman is strongly opposed to its existence, and expressed himself willing to assist in any measures likely to forward the objects of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. He has requested me to forward him such information as will enable him to bring the question of the abolition of slavery before the states-general, and to put him in possession of official documents to bear out his statements.

"We have translated and printed the Address to the People of Holland and Denmark; and it is our intention to have it left at the houses of those most likely to interest themselves with its contents in all the principal cities and towns of Holland."

#### UNITED STATES.—THE SLAVE POWER.

Our readers have probably noticed the intimations which have been given in various communications from America, that the result of the late census of the population of the United States has been unfavourable to what is called the Slave Power, and auspicious to the advancement of freedom. We extract from the *Free American* a summary of the facts elicited on this subject.

We have prepared the following tables with great care and labour. They will repay attentive study.

##### 1. FREE STATES.

	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840.
Me.	151,719	228,705	298,338	399,955	510,796
N.H.	183,762	214,360	244,161	269,328	284,481
Vt.	154,465	217,713	235,764	280,652	291,848
Mass.	423,245	472,040	523,287	610,408	737,468
R. I.	69,122	77,031	83,059	97,199	108,837
Conn.	251,002	262,042	275,202	297,665	310,131
N. Y.	586,756	959,949	1,372,812	1,918,608	2,432,835
N. J.	211,919	249,555	277,575	320,828	373,272
Pa.	602,365	810,091	1,049,458	1,348,233	1,793,541
Ohio	45,365	230,760	581,434	937,903	1,515,785
Ind.	4,875	24,520	147,178	343,031	683,314
Ill.	.....	12,282	55,211	157,455	445,475
Mich.	.....	4,752	8,896	31,639	211,705
Wis.	.....	.....	.....	.....	30,692
Iowa.	.....	.....	.....	.....	49,035
Totals,	2,684,609	3,738,065	5,151,812	7,018,627	9,783,115
Per ct.,		39 1-3	37 3-5	36 1-4	38 3-5

##### 2. SLAVE STATES.

	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840.
Del.	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,748	78,120
Md.	341,558	380,546	407,350	447,040	467,567
Va.	880,200	974,622	1,065,879	1,211,405	1,231,444
N. C.	478,103	555,500	638,329	737,987	756,939
S. C.	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,185	594,439
*Geo.	162,101	252,433	340,987	516,823	618,166
Ala.	.....	20,845	127,901	309,527	479,441
Miss.	8,850	40,352	75,448	136,621	376,099
†La.	.....	76,556	153,407	215,799	301,000
†Tenn.	103,602	261,727	422,813	681,904	823,067
Ky.	220,955	406,511	564,317	687,917	777,359
Mo.	.....	20,845	66,586	140,445	363,761
Ark.	.....	.....	14,273	30,388	95,642
D. C.	14,093	24,023	33,039	39,834	43,712
§Fa. T.	.....	.....	.....	34,730	40,000
Totals,	2,621,316	3,501,749	4,486,319	5,848,293	7,749,736
Pr. ct. inc.		37 2-5	28 1-8	30 2-5	32 1-2
Totals,	5,305,925	7,239,814	9,638,131	12,866,929	17,532,851
Pr. ct. of wle.		36 1-2	33 1-5	34 1-2	36 1-5

\* Nine small counties not returned.

† Part of the returns only received—the whole estimated at the rate of increase from 1820 to 1830, which is probably large.

‡ Part of one county not returned.

§ Owing to the war, the increase is small, and I have estimated it at 14 per cent. only, which is probably large.

Average increase of free states, each ten years, 38 per cent. nearly. Av. increase in the slave states 32 1-4 per cent. each ten years. Increase of free over slave states 5 3-4 per cent. Av. increase of the union, each ten years, 35 per cent., nearly. The last three periods the free have increased 7 per cent. faster than the slave states.

The following table exhibits the per cent. the free and slave states have had of the population of the United States each ten years.

	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Free States,	51 3-5	51 1-5	55 1-2	54 1-2	57 1-2
Slave States,	48 2-5	48 4-5	44 1-2	45 1-2	42 1-2
Majority,	3 1-2	2 2-5	11	9	15

Thus it appears that the slave states have lost 11 1-2 per cent. of the relative political power, based on population, which they enjoyed in 1800. From 1800 to 1810, and from 1820 to 1830, they gained upon the free states. But in the other two periods, lost very much. Nor is there the slightest probability that it will be otherwise hereafter.

The annexed table shows the whole increase in each state and territory, the rate per cent., the increase of slaves and free people, and the rate per cent. of each, and the whole number of slaves. In the columns relating to the slaves, the numbers marked a, show the decrease, and those marked b, the increase.

States.	Increase.	per cent.	Free.	per cent.	Slaves.	per cent.	Slaves.
Me.	101,301	26	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
N. H.	15,153	5 1-2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vt.	11,191	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mass.	127,060	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
R. I.	11,627	12	.....	.....	12a	.....	5
Conn.	12,456	4 1-2	.....	.....	14a	.....	11
N. Y.	415,227	27	.....	.....	72a	.....	3
N. J.	52,473	16	.....	.....	1506a	.....	868
Pa.	420,308	30 1-2	.....	.....	372a	.....	31
Ohio	579,901	62 3-4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ind.	241,783	100	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ill.	287,900	183	.....	.....	564a	.....	194
Mich.	180,381	590	.....	.....	31a	.....	1
Del.	1,359	2	2,881	4	1809a	22a	2,613
Md.	20,527	4 1-2	33,086	9 3-4	13,159a	12 3-4a	89,719
Va.	20,039	2	42,556	6	22,517a	5a	447,307
N. C.	18,952	2	17,636	4 1-2	1,316b	1-2b	246,917
S. C.	12,981	2 1-2	1,188	2-5	11,793	4	327,158
Ga.	101,599	20	66,407	22 1-3	35,927	16 1-2	253,508
Ala.	170,444	55	99,329	50	71,115	65	188,664
Miss.	239,291	176	109,185	155	130,108	198	195,765
*La.	86,425	40	79,895	89 3-4	6,530	4 1-2	116,116
Ark.	65,359	220	50,966	312 1-2	14,393	32	18,969
Tenn.	142,163	20 1-2	95,618	17 3-5	46,565	32 1-2	188,168
Ky.	88,475	13	87,825	17 1-5	908	2-5	166,216
Mo.	223,687	160	193,238	167 2-3	30,449	121 1-3	55,730
D. C.	3,854	9 3-4	2,490	7	1,364a	19a	4,094
†Fa.	5,270	14	2,918	14	9,352b	14b	17,858
	3,856,336	30 2-5	3,542,271	32 4-5	315,723	15 3-5	2,380,329

\* Estimated at the ratio of the 1st table, 40 per cent.

† Do. do. allowing the increase of both sorts of population to be equal. The error will be small in the result.

The increase of free population in the slave states is 886,010, or 23 per cent., or 15 3-5 per cent. less than the increase of the same kind of population in the free states; while the whole increase in the latter has been 6 per cent. more than in the former.

In the slave states, the free are to the slaves as 3 1-3 to one of the population, or about two-thirds. In the whole union, as 7 1-2 to 1, or about six-sevenths of the whole.

In two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, the slaves outnumber the free people. In the first they are as 5 to 4, in the last as 9 to 8, very nearly. In 1830 this was true of only South Carolina. In that state the disproportion is even greater than in 1830. In four states, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee, the slaves gain upon the free population. In the other states, it is the reverse.

The new territories, Iowa and Wisconsin, are not reckoned in this table, as they were not in the last census. With them the increase of free population would be as in the first table—the per centage varying but slightly in any subsequent estimates.

The increase of free population is more than the whole number of slaves.

The few slaves noticed in the free states are either aged people, *once* slaves, or, in Illinois, slaves held under the cover of apprenticeship, (a scheme sanctioned by General Harrison, when Governor,) or, in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, young persons not yet freed by age, under their gradual emancipation laws.

The slow relative increase of slaves will be the subject of another article of intense interest.

In the slave states, as a whole, the free have gained on the slave population more than one-third of the whole number of the latter, chiefly by immigration.

UNITED STATES. VALUE OF SLAVES AT THE SOUTH.—The slaves belonging to Mr. Marigny, sold yesterday at the Exchange by Mr. Garidel, brought the following sums.

	Dollars.
38 Negroes, from 18 to 50 years	47,810
20 Negro women, from 18 to 40 years, with 18 children, from 6 years to 1 month	21,950
16 Negroes, from 11 to 13 years	12,875
	82,635

The terms were one tenth cash, and the balance at one and two years.—*New Orleans Bee.*

DANISH SLAVES are in the habit of escaping from the islands of St. Thomas and St. John to the British island of Tortola. A Danish brig was stationed to prevent this. Its fire killed a negress. The English authorities have complained; but the Danes say she was shot on the neutral ground of Thatch island.—*Borsen Halle.*

SUGAR FROM INDIA.—The import of sugar from India, for the year ending April 30, 1841, which was variously estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000 tons, will, it is now ascertained, exceed 62,000 tons!



## JAMAICA.

WE are glad to be able to find room to-day for a document which we had for some little time lying by us. It is an extract of a letter from Mr. Candler to Mr. Sturge, in which he gives the result of a tour of inspection which he had made in the island of Jamaica, with a view to ascertain the practical working of freedom, and the true causes of complaint where it was otherwise than happy. The information loses little of its value by being not of the most recent date; the tour having been accomplished in the fall of last year. The omission of the names and places with which the letter abounds, is a matter of delicacy due towards the parties directly concerned.

CLARENDON.—The estate consists of 3000 acres, is greatly neglected as a sugar property, and will soon be abandoned. It used to make 180 hogsheads of sugar; this year it makes only eighteen hogsheads. The canes are left to rot out their strength without being cleaned; and the fine level lands, fit for the plough, are fast gathering the guava bush. The attorney last year brought it in debt £600 sterling. *Ludlow* has been lately purchased by —, for £4,500 currency. He is now re-converting it to a sugar property, having planted such a large breadth of cane as to insure him (he hopes) next crop, 120 hogsheads. This year it produced only four hogsheads of sugar, and one puncheon of rum. Thou wilt, no doubt, remember the evidence delivered by —, before the Commons' committee. He was the ostensible proprietor of — estate, which, twenty-five years ago, was purchased for the nominal sum of £50,000, having on it 700 slaves: he worked it at a dreadful waste of human life, and brought it deeply into debt. This property once yielded 900 hogsheads of sugar in one year, being cultivated to the hill tops, and manured with liquid manure, carried up on the heads of the slaves. It came down gradually to 400, 300, 200 hogsheads! This year it yields only thirty hogsheads; and, owing to its great distance from the sea, and the bad roads, is about to be given up for sugar, and turned to something else. —, and other estates, are the property of —, comprising in all about 7000 acres. — is gone to England, to endeavour to buy these properties at a low rate, and will, no doubt, give them a bad name. If he should succeed in buying all these lands, it will be a clear proof, that, much as he runs them down, he thinks they are likely to pay well in time to come. —, the property consists of 800 acres, of which, 140 are in cane. This year, owing to the quarrels attending the coming in of freedom, which prevented the planting of cane for one whole season, the crop is only seventy hogsheads. The present season is one of great drought, and Vere is a dry parish; but a great breadth of new cane has been put in, part of which is established. — has looked for 120 hogsheads next year, but is doubtful now whether he shall have so much. Vere yielded this year 2,400 hogsheads of sugar; the average produce of several years past has been 4000 hogsheads. There is no want of labourers in the parish, and they earn a great deal of money, as they work by job, and give five and sometimes six days' labour in the week. Their provision grounds have utterly failed from the drought, and cassava, which is much cultivated by the planters, is scarce from the same cause; so that the common people chiefly subsist on bread, which is brought by dray here from the Kingston steam mills. I saw one gang of men at work, fencing in a large field with penguin, and learned from their own mouth that they had taken the job so favourably for themselves, as to nett them a dollar and a half each per day; but then they worked very hard, and this was a very rare instance of good bargain making. Rode on the borders of — and — estates, looking wonderfully well, the season considered; and on our return to —, halted at —, a fine property, under the attorneyship of —, but cruelly mismanaged by a surly, ferocious overseer, who is driving the labourers away by his ill conduct. It is one of —'s estates, and the only wonder is, that, with such proofs of the good working of freedom on his other properties, he should suffer this to be spoiled through the madness of one man. All the other estates that we passed on the road seemed to be enjoying repose, and to be fairly prospering. Thou must well remember — estate, near Porus. The present overseer, treading in the steps of —, the attorney, and imitating his conduct on other properties, has managed to drive off the people, who have bought plots of land for themselves on the Mandeville road, so that only nine of the estate cottages remain occupied. These rent persecutions are grievous to bear; but they are working a great change in favour of the labourers, who are building houses for themselves on their own freeholds, to an extent which you would hardly have conceived possible in so short a time. Now free settlements are rising in all directions. That at Porus extends for about two miles on the road side, with intervals between, and must now number, I should think, about 1300 inhabitants. The estates of — and —, near Mandeville, the property of —, are now getting to be deserted of labourers. A considerable number of them have bought land at the new settlement of Sligo-ville; and others are anxiously looking out for land in their own neighbourhood. The overseer is a foolish man, and insists on three shillings sterling a week rent for house and grounds, besides his other vexations: it would really seem as if common sense were a contemptible thing in the eyes of the old time planters, and that nothing but sheer distress, arising from misconduct, can induce them to change their course. In the parish of St. Elizabeth, the planters have made a rod for their own backs. — was one of the leading men in the game of vexation; but the labourers have gained the day in that quarter. A new settlement is formed on one of the mountain slopes near the plain; and so large a number have left their old homes to go to it, that poor old — is now offering yearly leases to those who remain with him, and to others who may come. The general abuse of a landlord's power in Jamaica is happily advancing the work of freedom.

The people of Jamaica, speaking generally, feel themselves free and happy. They are oppressed in some places by infatuated attorneys and overseers, who are seeking to compel labour by the cruel rent screw; but they are fast getting out of their rapacious hands, by choosing home-steads of their own, and the very means intended to crush them proves a means of their rising in the world. I doubt whether, with all the oppression still practised against them, both under cover of the law and without law, there be in the whole world a peasantry so happy as that of Jamaica. Some look at the dark clouds, some look at the blue sky, some look through the clouds. I am one of the latter sort. I am sure the clouds are about to clear away, and all will be bright and fair in Jamaica; prosperity will attend the people, and heaven's blessing rest upon them.

Before I leave the country, it will be my endeavour to get hold of facts to prove the advantages of free over slave-labour, as it regards economy; but this is no easy task, as the managers of estates are very taciturn on this point. The new Immigration Act is likely to be a failure. I conversed with A. Barclay on the subject, before he left the island; and at the Governor's request, have had free communication with the agent-general for immigration. The latter seems to have very little hope of much result from the act. They rather look for a ship load or two of immigrants from Maryland; but there seems an uncertainty about it, as the free people of colour who leave the United States prefer Trinidad, because wages are higher. The population of Jamaica is so fast increasing, that the island will soon have labourers enough. It has enough already to keep up the cultivation to more than the apprenticeship limits; and the produce from this time forward will go on increasing, if the planters only act fairly, and have a proper regard to their own interests.

## IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

(From the *Mining Journal*.)

WE are glad to find, from the letter of a correspondent, that the question of the employment of slaves in working mines in Brazil will be mooted at the meeting of the shareholders of the Imperial Brazilian Company, on the 15th proximo, when it behoves every proprietor to be present, and to vote according to the dictates of humanity. The question is one which partakes of a national character, reflecting, as it does, upon the British nation, in privately upholding a system which it publicly repudiates; and in filling the one pocket with the gold, the produce of the slave, while from the other it contributes £20,000,000 for his emancipation. Vessels are equipped for ploughing the seas with the view to put down slave-trading, and yet companies exist in this metropolis the dividends afforded by which are the produce of the labour of the slave—the bought human being, who, when the operations of the company are no longer profitable, is to be sold to the best bidder, and thus turned over like cattle to do the bidding of his owner. We doubt not but that the apologist for slave-labour will base his argument in favour of the employment of slaves, by stating that, without this description of labour being availed of, the mines could not be worked to a profit—that the returns of the company would not pay £2000 or £3000 a-year to the manager in Brazil, or £500 to £800 a-year to the sub-agents, or, moreover, the salaries of directors in London—much less, dividends to the shareholders; and this is the only argument he can adduce which can lull his conscience into transitory repose, or smother the feelings of humanity which must rise in the breast of every thinking and reflecting man. The produce of the mines of Cuba and Brazil have yielded large returns to the philanthropic shareholders—they have been earned by the slave, at the cost of the freeman—in other words, the employment of the slaves of Cuba has taken from the Cornish miner the means of subsistence—the influx of foreign ores has affected our standard—the successful working of the mines has attracted the attention of the capitalist (no less than £480,000 having been given for the Cobre mines alone)—and when the English miner seeks labour in the clime to which capital is directed (from its natural channels in our own mineral districts), he finds the free miner is there supplanted by the slave; and, should he get employment, the chances of life being preserved, from the nature of the climate, are such as to render him anxious to return to his native land.

The question, however, in the present instance, is, whether emancipation can be granted to the slaves employed by the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association—some 300 or 400 in number—and, at the same time, the mines be worked with profit? We confess we have our doubts on this point, as the slave, once freed, would, in a great measure, be independent of the company, and his labour could not be enforced; again, the extra charge which the company might sustain in employing free instead of slave-labour, leads us to suppose that they could not work to a profit, if the present system were abolished. The next question which naturally arises is, what course, under such circumstances, should be pursued? Will the company continue slave-labour, or will they be content to lose their stock—that is, the value of them (which, if we assume £40 a-piece, for we are not dealers in human flesh, and therefore, know not the intrinsic value, would amount to £16,000), and then abandon the mines, subjected, as they must in such case be, to the heavy expenses attendant on the transport of the English colony home, payment of salaries under agreements for term of years, and the consequent expenses on winding up so heavy an establishment—indeed, it is hard to say what they will do, or what to recommend. We shall await the proceedings of the meeting with much interest and anxiety, and hope to find that the attention of the shareholders will, in the interim, have been devoted to the important subject, and the consequences attendant, which will then come under their consideration.

SLAVER CAPTURED.—The *South African Commercial Advertiser* of 20th February, 1841, contains the following extract of a letter from St. Helena:—"We have here a Portuguese schooner, prize to the *Water-witch*, for condemnation, with 230 slaves on board. They have the small-pox very bad; those that are free from it, are landed at Lemon Valley, which place is kept under strict quarantine. When the *Water-witch* first gave chase, the captain endeavoured to get away by lightening the vessel, for which purpose he threw overboard about 130 slaves, having originally on board 350. He then ran his vessel on shore, and made his escape. The boats of the *Water-witch* saved about seventy from drowning, but the greater part of them died afterwards from exhaustion.

CHATHAM.—On the 13th inst., an anti-slavery lecture was delivered at this place, by the Rev. W. G. Lewis. The lecture was well attended, and the audience apparently deeply interested, and well satisfied. When the circumstances were adverted to which led to the increased price of sugar, an appeal was made to the audience, whether, if it had been needful in order to effect what had been done to give for that article four times its former cost, or even wholly to renounce its use, they would not cheerfully have chosen freedom for our distant fellow subjects at that sacrifice. The answer was in the affirmative, as manifested by the approbation of the meeting, in which not the slightest appearance of a contrary sentiment was discernible.

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London; and Published by LANCELOT WILD, of 13, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-strand and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine Street, Strand, as aforesaid.—Sold by W. EVERETT, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill. April 21st, 1841.